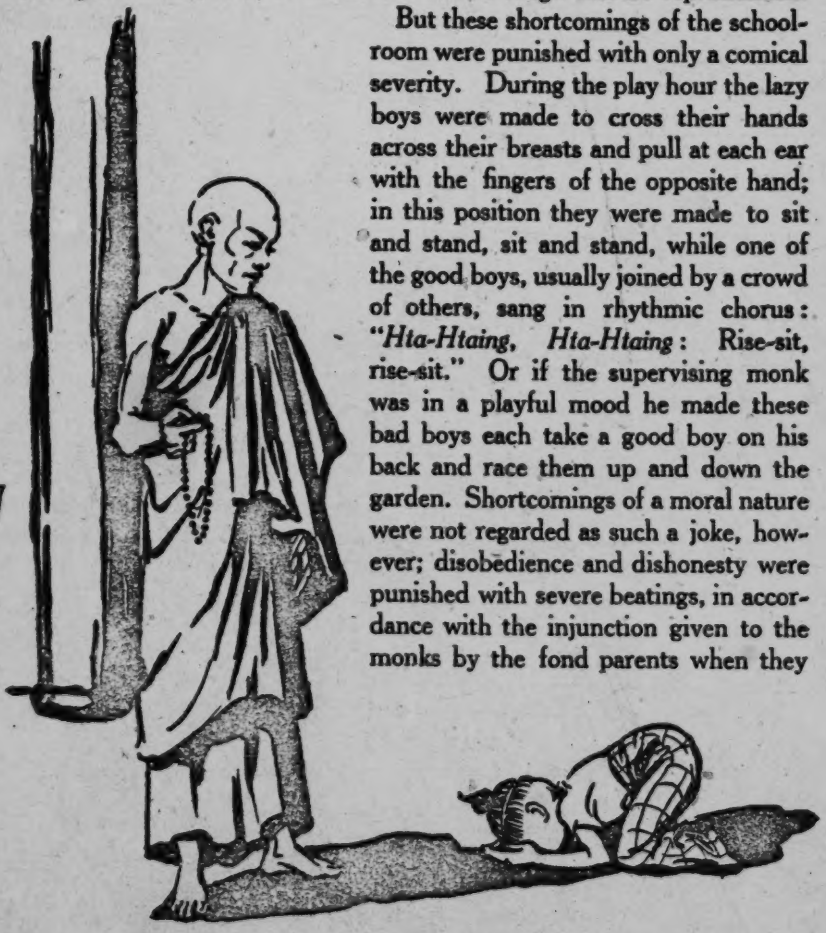
872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
858 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.



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But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa:* If he is naughty please beat him hard."

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My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut

it off, offer it to his mother as a tress for her hair-dressing, and have his head shaved and be initiated into the monkhood amidst feasting and rejoicing. This initiation, which every Buddhist boy went through in order to attain his true manhood by wearing the yellow robe, would last only a week or a month, or as long as my father felt the urge to remain in the monastery; for ever if he liked, in which case he would be formally received as an upasin. It was expected, however, that he would leave after a few months and help Grandmother and the aunts with looking after the paddy and the gardens. As rain of accidents upset all these schemes.

When my father was about 14 he was already among the oldest boys in the kyaung, his learning was high and his conduct exemplary. The monks gave him the task of guarding the meat-safe where all the stores of sweetmeats given to the monastery were kept, as well as delicious titbits like the roe of *nga-tha-lauk* fish, and the rich red oil of the heads of lobsters, which were kept over for the meals of the monks on following days. These wire-netted cupboards are called "cat-houses" in Burmese, because they are meant to guard the food from depredations of cats, and they serve the purpose very well, but they could never guard against the appetites of little boys; for my father, even as I knew him in later years, loved people to eat good things and would always soften and allow his companions to have a bit just here and there. He was often scolded for it, but was so well-behaved otherwise that the post was not taken from him. Just at this time, however, a supervising monk with very decided ideas of discipline was given charge of the boys; all the faults of disobedience, telling of falsehoods, running off to the village at forbidden hours and such like, were stored up till the end of the month. Then, on punishment day, the monk would gather a pile of sticks beside him, and all the boys with faults in a row before him, and go through beating them, one stick to one boy until it broke. One month my father was included in this row because the inroads on the meat-safe stores had increased in spite of constant warnings. Being a big boy he was left to the end of the row, and could watch the zealous monk methodically working through the boys and the sticks. What we know of my father and physical pain is that my mother was once scolded very severely the only time in her life that she beat any of us, and that he himself, when about to take nasty medicine or a vaccination, would go through a series of shiverings and comical protests, some of which I am sure were quite genuine. My poor father then watched the pile of sticks diminishing, and when there were but three sticks left and three boys between him and the untiring monk he suddenly took to his heels and fled, right out of the monastery grounds, down the pagoda hill and down to the creek. He did not dare

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
● 861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to
a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood;
Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this
earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their
previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily
like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives
hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My
bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if
eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them
to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who
could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread through-
out Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk
in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utter-
ances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having
been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond
lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old
for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grand-
mother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the
priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's
house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went bet-
ween Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which
passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One
day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know
as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy
could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a
boha-dauk (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle
boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to
now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He
worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and
and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of
rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother
had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of
them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not
be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 796 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her and use angry words. 796 861•

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us. 000

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket 674

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people.

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung.

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented.

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. 513

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 513 868 [565]

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters. 607 182 602

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip -- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well -- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law. 607 587

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in-law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (cwêmà) means 'sweat women. 606

The term for son-in-law (Ǫame?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

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From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

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Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

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Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children. 593 [837]

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family. [768]

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. [581]

Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is considered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 462

Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dò* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gòn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783-1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sìtòppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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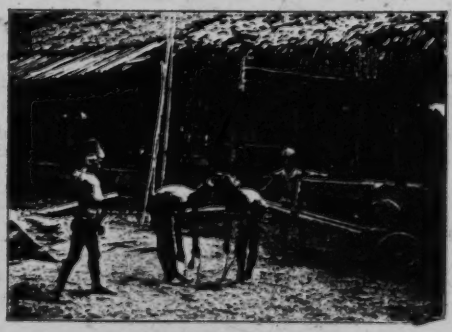
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyî*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upasîn*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).